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AUTHOR Prescott, Barbara L.
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ABSTRACT

A study identified discourse patterns in potential disputes, deflected disputes, incomplete, and completed disputes from a one-hour conversation involving two 3-year-old female children and one female adult. These varied dispute episodes were identified, coded, and analyzed using a pragmatic model of adult argumentation focusing on the structures, speech acts, and participant roles involved in argumentative discourse. Results indicate that (1) children learn the appropriate speech acts of argumentation at an early age; (2) children learn the underlying discourse rules and roles of argumentation early, and are able to apply them in defense of viewpoint; (3) children display only simple argument structure in their disputes but can appropriately participate in complex and compound arguments; and (4) the adult role as mediator or rational judge plays a major role in child-peer and child-adult disputes. An expansion of this pragmatic model of argumentation for application to child language must account for the pivotal adult mediator/judge role in dispute episodes. The importance of incorporating analyses of the interaction of child and adult registers into a general theory of argumentation discourse is also considered. (MSE)

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Argument Structure, Speech Acts, and Roles in Child-Adult Dispute Episodes

Barbara L. Prescott
School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify discourse patterns in potential disputes, deflected disputes, incomplete, and completed disputes from a one hour conversation involving two 3-year-old female children and one female adult. These varied dispute episodes were identified, coded, and analyzed using a pragmatic model of adult argumentation proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) that focuses on the structures, speech acts, and participant roles involved in argumentative discourse. Results of the analysis indicate that children learn the appropriate speech acts of argumentation at an early age. Secondly, children also learn early the underlying discourse rules and roles of argumentation, and are able to apply them in defense of viewpoint. Third, children display not only simple argument structure in their disputes, but can appropriately participate in complex and compound arguments. Fourth, the role of the adult as mediator or rational judge plays a major role in child-peer and child-adult disputes. An expansion of this pragmatic model of argumentation for application to child language must account for the pivotal adult mediator/judge as participant role in dispute episodes. The importance of incorporating analyses of the interaction of child and adult registers into a general theory of argumentation discourse is discussed.

Introduction

Recent research on language acquisition and child-adult discourse has focused on the vital role that contextual-functional aspects of speech play in child language (Ervin-Tripp and Strage 1985, Hickman 1985, Rondal 1985, Ochs 1979). One discourse type in which context and function figure prominently is that of argumentation, or verbal dispute. Further, the study of the structures and strategies used during the course of a dispute episode may vary in child-child and adult-child interactions (Camaioni 1979).

It will be the purpose of this paper to examine a conversation involving two three-year old female children and one female adult and identify discourse patterns of potential disputes, deflected disputes, incomplete, and completed disputes. These varied dispute episodes will be analyzed according to a pragmatic model of argumentation proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) and van Eemeren (1985) that focuses on the structures, speech acts, and participant roles involved in argumentative discourse. Furthermore, children's disputes will be considered speech events through which children are developing skills to speak effectively within the framework of argument structure, and learning the range of appropriate utterances to express and defend point of view (Brenneis and Lein 1977:49).

The expansion of this pragmatic model to dispute patterns in child language in conjunction with a consideration of the skills and verbal strategies children and adults use through the course of argumentation may provide insight to the developing structures of child-child and adult-child disputes, to the ways that arguments are argued through speech acts, and the roles assumed by adults and children during the course of a verbal conflict.

Do children argue rationally? Do children's arguments have identifiable structure? How do these compare to adult models of argumentative discourse? What speech acts do children use during the process of a dispute? Finally, do children and adults assume identifiable roles during argumentation? These are the questions that will be addressed through the course of the following discussion.

Structures, Speech Acts, and Roles in Argumentative Discussions:

A definition of argumentation proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) is the following:

> Argumentation is a speech act consisting of a constellation of statements designed to justify or refute an expressed opinion and calculated in a regimented discussion to convince a rational judge of a particular point of view in respect to the acceptability or unacceptability of that expressed opinion. (1984:18).

Essentially, argumentation is an illocutionary act complex and must be analyzed as a set of illocutionary acts (van Eemeren 1985). The appropriate use of speech acts during an argumentative discussion indicates a code of conduct for rational discussants. Further, one can only speak of a fully-fledged dispute if one language user has explicitly cast doubt upon the other's standpoint. A dispute, then, is not just common disagreement but an articulated form of disunity which may be able

to make a contribution to intellectual progress. The primary aim of interlocutors 'embarking upon' a dispute is to resolve it. However, the resolution of disputes has no definite character but is ideally an intermediate state in a continuous process of intellectual growth. The discussants must advance statements in which the standpoint under discussion is attacked and defended. This is what is defined as an argumentative discussion (1984:2).

The Structure of Argumentation: Confrontation, Opening, Argumentation, Resolution

During the course of a completed argument, participants progress through four stages of discussion. The first of these is the **Confrontation Stage**, where the dispute is identified. Essentially, the language user advancing a point of view makes the assertion which triggers the argumentative discussion. A preparatory condition essential for this stage is that the participant advancing Assertion I must adhere to the Gricean maxim of quality and only advance an assertion she believes to be true and for which she has sufficient evidence (Grice 1975:46). In the child discourse data presented, an interesting example of this stage occurs in Episode 3 (completed dispute) when the child protagonist (role # 1), K, verbally demonstrates her adherence to the maxim of quality that she has sufficient evidence to justify her Assertion I (i.e., *I wanna be first*). K later (in the argumentation stage) defends her assertion by stating, *Well, I* **asked** *first*, thereby providing evidence that she knows by adhering to rational order of precedence, her speech act was uttered first and therefore she has a logical defense for her point of view. Essentially, she is adhering to the Gricean maxim of quality in this verbal confrontation. In their analysis of children's disputes, Brenneis and Lein (1977) recognize and interpret this type of rationalization as children's attempts at moral persuasion (1977:52). However, the defense used by K perhaps can be alternately explained as a child's attempt to adhere to an underlying Gricean rule of conversation. In this light, K's defense is far more interesting and, further, may be an example of children's early acquisition of the discourse rules underlying rational argument structure.

Stage two of the argument, the **Opening Stage**, is signalled by a challenge to Assertion I by the corresponding participant(s) in the discussion. In a simple argument, this challenge has the single function of opening a dispute by an antagonist (role # 2). However, in complex argumentation, the challenge may also contain an alternate point of view and set up a dialectic situation whereby the protagonist must not only defend her point of view (Assertion 1) but challenge the point of view taken by the antagonist, who in turn, is a protagonist for her own point of view (Assertion 2) (van Eemeren 1985, Blair 1985).

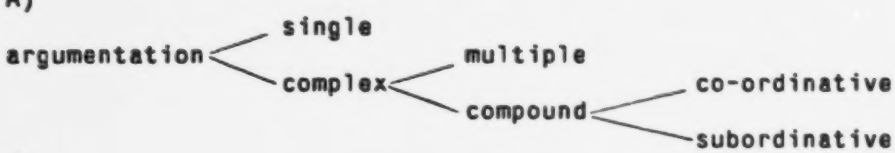
The child dispute data presented here offers further insight into children's argumentation strategies in that children can be shown to argue in complex structures when those disputes are analyzed through a pragmatic model of argumentation. An example of such complexity occurring in the opening stage of a dispute is found in Episode 11 (completed dispute). K begins a confrontation with J by asserting, *I'll tell you when to stop stirring.*. J responds by challenging the assertion with a simple, *No*, thereby opening the argument. This alone constitutes the beginning of a simple argument. However, J does not stop here. Instead, she continues by asserting, *Her*, and pointing at Mother. J

has made the shift from simple to complex argumentation with this one-word assertion. J's underlying intent in making this assertion may be paraphased as follows: "No, I don't want you to tell me when to stop stirring. It is not your place to make that decision. Only she (mother) has the authority and knowledge to tell me when to stop. Therefore, I want her, and not you, to tell me when to stop stirring."

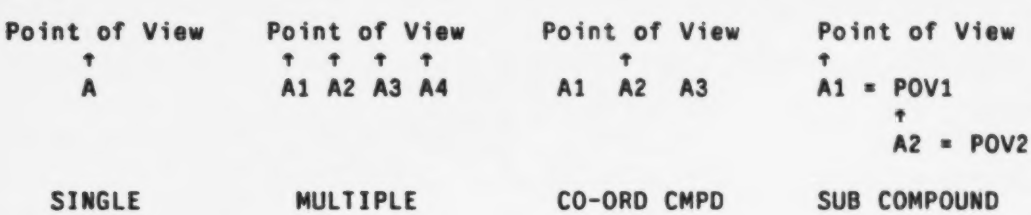
When making the initial assertion, K took the role of protagonist, and J, when challenging Assertion 1, took the role of antagonist. However, because J then presented her own point of view (Assertion 2) she had the double role of protagonist to Assertion 2 and antagonist to Assertion 1. Correspondingly, K, although taking the initial role of protagonist to Assertion 1, challenges J's Assertion 2 and therefore takes the role of antagonist to Assertion 2 at the beginning of the argument stage. (Note: See Completed Disputes for a full analysis of this episode). The difference between simple and complex argumentative structures can be illustrated as follows:

(Van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984:93)

A)



B)



The dispute just described (Episode 11) can be seen to represent a multiple argument since each assertion revolves around the same initial expressed opinion (who is to tell J to stop stirring). The two points of view are reflected in the two different assertions defended respectively by each of the children. It should be noted that most of the child dispute episodes analyzed ended at this stage, and were therefore incomplete. The primary reason for the unfulfilled disputes was due to Mother's intervention, and deflecting attempts. Mother's pivotal role in this respect will be discussed later.

The third stage of argumentation forms the defining core of the dispute. This, appropriately, has been termed the **Argumentation Stage**. The stage is signalled when the protagonist, having expressed Assertion 1 in the Confrontation, now attempts to defend Assertion 1. In the child data analyzed here, only two dispute episodes reached this stage, and those were actually completed. It was previously noted that at least one of the two children discussed was able to provide a rational defense of her assertions, thereby exemplifying a knowledge of the discourse conventions underlying defense of point of view in argumentation.

Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984:86) state that the argumentation stage may be extremely simple cr complex, in part determined by the reactions advanced by the antagonist or anticipated by the protagonist. In the child discourse data examined, an extended multiple argument occurs which has a long argumentation stage due to neither the protagonist's (K) nor antagonist's willingness to resolve the dispute. In Episode 3, K defends her point of view with a rational explanation but J refuses to accept the defense. Instead, J keeps repeating her assertion, never offering a rational explanation until nearly the end of the stage (turn 68). K does not accept the defense and Mother, as rational judge, finally ends the argument in the resolution.

This fourth stage in the pragmatic model, **Resolution**, formally marks the end of an argumentative discussion. A discussion is never complete unless the discussants have collectively established its outcome (vE&G 1984:86). In the child data analyzed, Mother always plays a pivotal role in the resolution as rational judge or mediator. In completed dispute one (Episode 11), Mother resolves the conflict by establishing her adult authority to do so (turn 198). The children agree to her resolution by following her directions. In the second completed dispute (Episode 3), Mother uses her role as mediator to resolve the dispute, and again, the children collectively agree by following her verbal directions. As a result, both resolutions are collectively agreed upon and the disputes are successfully concluded.

In the following discussion, this pragmatic model of argument structure will be applied to a corpus of child language data which contains a number of dispute episodes, and each episode will be analyzed as a potential, deflected, incomplete, or complete argument.

Discourse Data, Participants, and Method:

The data base of this study is a twenty minute conversation involving a mother (M), her three year old (3:9.27) daughter (K), and K's three year old (3:2.15) female peer (J). The conversation was held in the kitchen of M and K's home and revolved around the activity of making bread (for full transcript, see Appendix I).

In the course of the conversation, a number of potential, partial, and complete verbal disputes occurred among the participants. Each of these fulfilled or unfulfilled dispute episodes was identified and coded for structure, type of speech acts occurring within the verbal interchange, and the respective roles of each participant in the dispute. The pragmatic model discussed earlier served as a base from which to judge the extent to which argumentation occurring in the conversational data could be compared to adult argumentative discussions. In essence, how did this conversational data fit the pragmatic model?

First of all, it must be mentioned that identification of dispute episodes is rather more complex than initially appears. Being a nonparticipant observer of the conversation, I was able to identify several conversational interactions that had varying degrees of conflict at base but never blossomed into verbal disputes. These I coded as potential disputes. Secondly, there were formally marked dispute beginnings that were interrupted by a verbal mediating intervention, usually from Mother. These were

coded as deflected disputes. Thirdly, there were instances of formally marked conflicts of opinion that did not fulfill the structure of a completed argument. These were coded as incomplete disputes.

Finally, there were interactions that were formally marked as disputes and fulfilled argument conditions proposed by the pragmatic model. These were termed complete disputes.

In the following discussion, I will identify these four dispute episode types and examine their identifying characteristics in terms of argument structure, speech acts, and participant roles. Further, I will look at the degree of fit between the proposed pragmatic model and child-child/ child-adult discourse conversational data, noting areas where the model may be expanded or re-examined for use in the study of discourse and child language acquisition research.

Pre-Argument Structure

Potential Disputes: Preparatory Conditions and Signalling Devices

The identification and classification of potential disputes is perhaps the most difficult since they are those verbal interactions that do not display any formally marked argument features, yet seem to imply a challenge or set the stage for a challenge to an assertion which could potentially trigger a dispute episode between participants.

I found that potential disputes fell into three different categories, which, interestingly, corresponded to the direction of interchange between the adult and children. In other words, potential disputes seemed to be represented differently depending whether the direction of the interaction stemmed from child to adult, adult to child, or child to child. The first involved a "soft" (internal) challenge, in the form of a request for information or clarification whose intent was to trigger a response (assertion) to which an external challenge could be made. This usually occurred in a child to adult direction of interaction. An example of this kind of potential dispute is the following:

(In the middle of the making-bread activity, K looks at the boxes containing the bread mix, frowns, and asks in a rising-falling intonation:)

94	Request for information (R1)	K: Are we making bread?
95	Request for clarification (R2)	M: Are we what?
96	Repetition of R1	K: Are we making bread?
97	Explanation (Assertion)	M: Yeah, this is the easy way. It's out of a mix because I don't have time and I've got to do four loaves.

Here the signalling device is intonation (i.e., bread), communicating doubt and setting the stage for a potential dispute. No formal argument structure is evident but the potential for a dispute is being communicated by K and centers on whether a bread-making activity is actually occurring. K does not

issue an external challenge to an assertion, but instead uses intonation to signal her **doubt** that any bread is being made. Mother has not displayed any defining bread-making acts (e.g., measuring flour, kneading the dough, etc.) and so K is 'softly' challenging (in the form of a question) Mother's activities as bread-making activities. M responds to K's question (and doubts) with a statement (97) clarifying her actions and reasons for those actions. K accepts this explanation and therefore a dispute does not occur. However, had Mother not responded satisfactorily to K (i.e., M's statements had an opposite perlocutionary effect), or had K not accepted mother's role as expert, the direction of the interchange would have lead to an external challenge, and possibly to a dispute about the process of bread-making.

A second type of potential dispute again is triggered by a 'soft' challenge through request but this time as a rhetorical question from **adult to child**. This type of rhetorical question (i.e., mother is not actually asking for information but is instead testing children's knowledge) seems to represent teaching behavior on M's part, and seems to have the perlocutionary effect on the children of 'acceptance of new information/mother is expert' rather than 'challenge Mother's assertion/ defend point of view'. Therefore a dispute does not occur. The episode is as follows:

(M is pointing at one marble in a group of three, and looks at J:)

13	Request (Rhetorical)	M: You know what color that is?
14	Response	J: Uh Huh.
15	Request (Prompt)	M: What color is that one?
15'	Incomplete Assertive	K: it's
16	Assertive (A1)	K: It's green.
17	Assertive (A2)	M: Kind of green and it's kind of blue. We call that color aqua, aqua or turquoise.

(K turns away, picks up a toy and starts playing with it. J picks up aqua marble and looks at it.)

Here M asks a question of J and continues to prompt for an answer (15). K responds with an assertion (16) which mother accepts as half correct. She is not overtly challenging K's assertion but is adding information to it. A dispute does not occur because K does not defend her point of view, nor does she challenge mother's correction or role as teacher (expert). Had the children questioned M's role as teacher or her challenge of K's assertion, the interaction would have taken on the characteristics of a dispute. Here acceptance of M's role as teacher/expert is integral to the direction of the interaction and no dispute occurs.

A third instance of potential dispute occurs from **child to child**, and is signalled by what Brenneis and Lein have called 'repetitive and escalated insults (1977: 57-58)' in the form of assertives. An example of this follows:

172 Assertive (A1) K: You make a cuckoo head.

173 Assertive (A2) J: You make a peepee head.

174 Imperative (Command) M: Cut the talk.

Brenneis and Lein have called these repetitive and escalated insults the building blocks of children's arguments (1977:59). However, in the following discussion, children's arguments will be examined not only as argumentative sequences but as examples of protean argument structure, with identifiable stages shared with adult argumentation.

Incomplete Argument Structure

A. Deflected Disputes: Adult and Child Speech Acts and Roles

The type of interaction that has been classified as a deflected dispute is one that displays one or more formally marked features of argument structure (e.g., confrontation, opening) and act (e.g., assertion, challenge to assertion) but is interrupted or blocked by an intervening verbal mediation (e.g., change of topic, new non-challenging assertion or directive) from either a participant in the forming dispute or an individual previously nonparticipating in the discussion. The effect of this mediation is to refocus the interaction and end a growing dispute. In the conversational data between adult/child and child/child presented here, the majority of episodes are in the form of conflict deflection, usually through the intervention or influence of the adult, Mother. It is this pivotal mediating adult role which is not covered in the existing pragmatic model, and expansion of the model to include this third role (along with protagonist and antagonist) is necessary for applicability to child discourse.

The first example of deflected dispute in the conversational data occurs from turns 29 through 34 with participants Mother, K and J: (Note: Assertion 1 and Challenge 1 are starred *)

CONFRONTATION

29* Assertion 1 M: You each have to, Kelly has to put three back and Jennifer has to put two back.

30 Supporting A1 K: Okay.

(At this point J takes three records, and acts to challenge A1)

OPENING

Reporting Challenge K: Crazy Jennifer... she took three.

31 Reaction J: /oo/

32 Negation of A1-Mediating Effort M: It's alright, she's just trying to help out.

33* Verbal Challenge 1 (Assertion 2) J: I wanna have three.

34	Support of Challenge 1 Mediating Effort	M: Okay Jennifer we originally said that anyway. You get three and Kelly, you take two.

(Series of turn-taking occurs. See Appendix I)

In this sequence, Mother makes an assertion (A1) in turn 29. I have coded this turn an assertion rather than a directive because M did not use the imperative form (i.e., Kelly, put two back etc.). Instead she has made an assertion that (M believes) K has to put three (records) back and J has to put two (records) back. K strengthens the speech act assertion by agreeing with with A1 but J acts to challenge A1. K reports this nonverbal challenge to M (30) but M does not defend or justify A1; she negates A1 by making the deflecting statement (32), *It's alright she's just trying to help out*. Mother has relinquished her role as protagonist to K, and has taken the role of mediator/deflector. J, on the other hand, keeps her role as antagonist and now strengthens her challenging act in the form of a verbal challenge to Al, *I wanna have three.*, (33). Mother reinforces J's challenge and agrees with her (34). She continues this mediating effort by reversing A1, *You get three and Kelly , you take two*. K does not challenge this reversal. Instead, a series of turn-taking acts occurs (35-36) that resolves the conflict. Here Mother, although the protagonist in the blossoming dispute (having expressed A1), reverses her position by accepting A2 and defending J's challenge. She then mediates the growing conflict between K (who defends A1) and J by verbally allocating turns. This mediation is accepted by both parties and the opening dispute is ended.

A much shorter and abrupt example of deflection occurs in turns 120' - 121:

CONFRONTATION		
120*	Assertion 1 (A1)	M: Now after we've greased it, then we put a little flour in.....
OPENING		
120'*	Declarative Challenge to A1	K: I'm gonna do it.
121	Ignoring Challenge (Topic Shift)/ Deflecting Move	M: Now we'll go to the next step, okay? 'Combine the bread water and egg in a large bowl'.
	Directive/ Deflecting Move Continued	M: Okay, Kelly you crack the egg and Jennifer I want you to add the water, okay?

Here, turn 12-0' is coded as a declarative rather than a commissive that commits the speaker to a course of action (e.g., promising) because K's underlying intent was not to stipulate that she promised to do the action but that she wanted to do it. A paraphrase of this statement is *I want to do it*, not *I promise to do it*. As such, this declarative is interpreted by M to be a challenge (C1). Here again mother acts as deflector by initially ignoring K's challenge in turn 120', changing topic, and stating A2 (121) which goes unchallenged. In this case, mother delays her response to C1 until she has shifted topic and act. She then turns her attention back to C1 and allows K to fulfill her intention of

participating in the act of making bread. Note that Mother does not defend A1; she simply refocuses the act until she can agree with C1, thereby deflecting a conflict between K and herself.

A similar example of dispute deflection occurs in turns 126 - 131, when mother combines her tactics of deflection of a challenge with allocation of turn taking to resolve a beginning dispute:

CONFRONTATION

126*	Assertion 1 (A1)	M: Alright, next one Jennifer does and Kelly adds water.
	Directive	Okay now Jennifer you add the water.
	Assertion 2 (A2)	'One cup water'. Alright. Thank you.
	Embedded Conflict	
127	Assertion 3 (A3) (Challenge to A2)	J: Two cup water.

OPENING

128*	Assertion 4 (A4) Challenge to A1	K: I get to do the next one.
129	Commissive/ Topic Shift/ Deflecting Effort	M: I'm gonna start out by stirring a little bit. I'd like, uh, Kelly to stir a little bit and then I'd like Jennifer to stir a little bit, alright?
130	Acceptance of Deflection	K: And then we all stir.

In this episode, Mother makes an assertion (A1) about the order of participation (126). She follows this with an unchallenged directive. Next she makes an assertion (A2) about the amount of water to be used. J challenges A2 and makes an assertion (A3) about the amount of water she thinks should be used (127). M ignores this challenge. This short interchange constitutes a incomplete subdispute within the overall conflict over turn-taking. The argument structure has not been fulfilled in this subdispute because no support of A1 is offered by Mother. Instead, K breaks into the conversation and states A4 by asserting her right to follow in the sequence introduced by mother in A1. The activity does not call for a continuation of turn-taking introduced in A1 but Mother does not challenge K's assertion (A4). Instead, she shifts the topic to the appropriate activity, tells the children what she is doing, thereby indirectly explaining why A1 is no longer appropriate, and assigns overt turn-taking to deflect a dispute. K accepts this mediating act, and supports it by showing her cooperation (130). J does not challenge the shift. Therefore, the protean dispute was successfully deflected.

Another strategy used by Mother to deflect a beginning dispute is in the use of overt verbal agreement, and contradictory action in turns 185 - 189 (coded as Contra-Act). This is an interesting episode of deflection because the child, J, verbally exhibits the knowledge that agreement to an act must entail access to the performance of the act to be satisfactory:

CONFRONTATION

185* Assertion 1 (A1) J: My turn to do th...do that.

186	Agreement with A1/ Contra-Act1	M: Okay, it's Jennifer's turn to start stirring this time. (M continues to stir) Let me get the egg in here first.
187	Challenge to Contra-Act1/ Defending A1	J: I want to!
188	Agreeing with A1 (deflecting attempt) Contra-Act2	M: I sure will let you. Let me just... (Starts smashing lumps in the batter) See these big hard lumps....
189	Challenge to Contra-Act 2/ Defending A1	J: But I wanna do it!
190	Explaining Contra-Act2/ Deflection	M: I just wanna press those down little bit.
	Agrees with A1 VERBALLY AND BY NONVERBAL ACT	M: (giving the spoon to J) Now you can stir it, please.

Here mother's <u>actions</u>, not words, serve to convey the challenge to J. Yet M and J do not enter into an argument (not even the opening stage) because mother never verbally challenges J nor accepts J's verbal challenges. She always agrees, thereby trying to deflect an argumentative discussion. J, however, is rather helpless in this episode because she knows it's her rightful turn, mother has agreed that J should be allowed to stir, yet J is prevented from fulfilling the intention of her assertion (A1) by mother's <u>actions</u>. Only until mother surrenders the spoon (190) is the beginning argument successfully ended. This is a nice example of the realization by <u>both</u> adult and child that an illocutionary act may have two aspects; the verbal act and nonverbal action. Both must be satisfied for the illocutionary act to be successful. Mother uses this knowledge to deflect argument through verbal agreement, yet does not allow access to action. J realizes that an agreement to her assertion entails the right to action, yet she is prevented from fulfilling her intent. When she is allowed access to the nonverbal act, the beginning conflict is ended.

A last example of deflected argument involves cooperative deflection strategies used by all three participants; Mother, J, and K:

CONFRONTATION

162*	Assertion 1 (A1)	K:	Uh oh, she's spilling.
163	Mediation	M:	It's alright.

OPENING

164*	Challenge to A1	J:	Where?

165	Deflection (D1)	K:	The next one Jennifer gets to do.
166	Support of D1	M:	That's right!
167	Extending D1	K:	And we have to share doing things, in this one too...yeah weren't we?
168	Support	J:	Yeah!
169	Confirmation	M:	Okay.

Although this sequence is overtly a cooperative interaction, it has its base in a beginning dispute. J is pouring milk into the batter and K asserts that J is spilling the milk. M intervenes to support J (163) and J reacts by challenging K (164), thereby assuming the role of antagonist. K notes that M has supported J and changes discourse stratey by changing topic and asserting that J should get the next turn (an overt concession), thereby indirectly acting to support M's mediating strategy (163) and win M's approval. M expresses her approval and supports K's assertion (166). J takes part in the cooperative effort (168), and the overall effect is the deflection of a beginning conflict.

These five episodes from the adult-child and child-child conversational data base exemplify several interesting variations on argument structure, speech acts, and participant roles. First, none of these episodes progresses to the argumentation stage of a dispute, because of Mother's pivotal role in directing the verbal interaction as well as in assuming the role of deflector and/or mediator. Interestingly, even if Mother begins in the role of a protagonist, as in examples one and two, she changes to a mediator when necessary and maintains that deflecting/mediating role. The children are only protagonists or antagonists in this data base. Secondly, the conflict around which an argument is based may not always be only verbal. In the fourth example, J knows that until she is given access to the nonverbal act of stirring, the intent of her assertion is unfulfilled. Therefore, she continues to repeat her assertions until the corresponding part of the speech act is completed. This points to a recognition of the conversational rules underlying discourse.

B. Incomplete Disputes: Unfulfilled Structure and Act

There are several instances where an argument is incomplete, not simply due to mother's deflection or mediation attempts, but because part of the argument structure has been unfulfilled. The following is an example of such an incomplete argument. This is a very brief interchange that involves a challenge to an assertion (confrontation and opening stages), but does not fulfill the conditions of argument structure because there is no argumentation stage.

Confrontation		
118	Assertion 1 (A1)	M: (to J) You went to Sacramento or someplace last year.
Opening		
119	Challenge to A1 Defense of Challenge/ Declarative.	J: No. I went to my gran's house.

No Argumentation Stage. No defense of A1.

RESOLUTION
120 Acceptance of Defense/ M: Oh, is that it?
Capitulation

CONCLUSION
Defering to Challenge M: Okay. Alrighty.

In this episode, M takes the role of protagonist in turn 118 by making the initial assertion (A1) and J assumes the role of antagonist in turn 119 by challenging A1 with a declarative. M responds with a surface interrogative (turn 120) which has the intent of accepting J's challenge and defense (explanation). J has therefore 'won' the exchange with M's capitulation.

In this instance, Mother is not a mediator or deflector. She is a protagonist who presents an assertion and is challenged (confrontation and opening stages). However, she does not defend her assertion, so no argumentation stage exists and the argument structure is therefore unfulfilled. The conflict is resolved by her capitulation to J's challenge in the opening stage, skipping over a formal argument stage to a conclusion. However, no formal argument was completed.

Completed Arguments

Completed and Resolved Disputes: Two Examples

We can turn to two completed dispute episodes in the reported conversational data to investigate why these particular episodes can be considered complete rather than partial disputes (structure), what speech acts are used during the course of the dispute, and what roles are assumed by each of the participants in the dispute.

The first completed dispute is an example of a complex multiple argument between the two children, with K assuming the role of protagonist and J assuming the role of antagonist. In this case, M takes the role of outside mediator/rational judge and resolves the dispute. As discussed previously, an argument is considered **complex** when more than one point of view (externalized attitude of a language user in respect to an expressed opinion) is expressed by the participants in a dispute episode. The following completed argument is considered **multiple** because the variant points of view presented all revolve independently around an intial expressed opinion (Assertion 1) (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984: 91).

CONFRONTATION
193* Assertion 1 (A1) K: I'll tell you when to stop stirring.
POV 1

OPENING
194* Challenge to A1 J: No.
Assertive (A2) Her.
POV 2

ARGUMENTATION

195	Defending A1/POV1 Challenging A2	K: I will.
196	Defending A2/POV2	J: Her will.
197	Request for Support Defending POV 1	K: (to M) Can I tell her when to stop?
198	Denial of Support	M: No.
RESOLUTION		
	Explanation/ Mediating Effort	I, I, I'm the one that's telling her who's next, okay?
CONCLUSION		
	Directive	Okay, now Kelly take a turn.

In this completed dispute, it can be noted that each dispute stage is present and leads to the next stage toward resolution and conclusion of the discussion. K begins by making the statement that she will tell J when J should stop stirring the batter. J does not accept K's authority to determine when J's turn is over, and gives her own point of view about who has the authority to tell J when to stop. J determines that Mother has that right, and not K, so she succinctly states, *Her*, and points to Mother. K is unwilling to give up her stand and defends her own assertion with a repetition. J imitates K's intonation in turn 196 and defends her own point of view by repeating her assertion, giving her defense strength by exactly imitating K's defense but with Mother as focus. Paraphrased, J is saying, *I do not accept your assertion that you have the right to tell me when to stop. I will only accept the directive from her (Mother)*. (See also the explanation of this episode in the section on argument structure). Because each participant is defending her own assertion and neither is willing to accept the other's point of view, a stalemate occurs in turn 196. At this point an outside rational judge and mediator (Mother) is brought in. K deliberately turns to Mother and solicits her support in turn 197. Mother enters the dispute by denying her support to K, and instead accepting the role of judge and director (turn 198). Both children now accept Mother's intervention and the dispute is resolved. This particular episode fulfills all stages of argument structure, yet differs from the adult model proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst by bringing in the outside rational judge to resolve the dispute. This is a crucial point in the investigation of child and adult discourse. Children's argumentation in the presence of a higher status adult is very much influenced by that adult. Mother's role as rational judge is freely accepted by the children and, as repeatedly mentioned, her role is pivotal to the resolution of children's argumentation. It is interesting that Mother's participation is overtly sought by J throughout the argument, so J can be seen to have indirectly prevailed in her assertions and even indirectly won the argument through Mother's support as higher status participant.

The second example of completed dispute occurs in an episode that is an <u>extended</u> complex multiple argument. This episode is considered extended because several sub-conflicts occur during the course of the overall dispute.

CONFRONTATION			
56*	Assertion 1 POV 1	K:	I wanna be first.
OPENING			
57*	Challenge to A1 POV 2	J:	I wanna be first.
ARGUMENTATION			
58	Defense of A1/POV1	K:	I wanted to.
59	Deflecting Attempt1	M:	Oh, I wanted to be first.
60	Defense of A1/POV1 Rational Explanation	K:	Well, I asked first.
61	Deflecting Attempt1	M:	I'll tell you what, we're gonna take turns.
62	Defense of A2/POV2 Refusal of Deflecting Attempt1	J:	Wanna be first.
63	Deflecting Attempt2 Continued/Response to Defense of A2/POV2	M:	Kelly'll pour this one in this bowl, and the next time you get to pour that package in the bowl, alright?
64	Refusal of Deflecting Attempt2/Continued Defense of A2/POV2	J:	But I wanna be first.
65	Appeal to Dispute Participant to End Dispute + Rational Explanation/Deflecting Attempt3	M:	Kelly, would you like to let Jennifer go first because she's our guest?
66	Refusal of Deflecting Attempt3	K:	No. No. I don't want to.
67	Repetition of Attempt3	M:	Y'sure?
68	Defense of A2/POV2 + Rational Explanation	J:	I wanna help her.
69	Challenge to Defense	K:	No.
RESOLUTION			
70	Acquiescing to A1/POV1 Deflecting Attempt3	M:	Okay, you can do the next one Jennifer. I've got another bag, okay?
CONCLUSION			
		M:	Alright. Good job. Good.

In this episode, K opens a confrontation and again assumes the role of protagonist by asserting that she wants to be the first one to pour the bread package contents into a bowl. J challenges K's assertion and the opening stage of an argument is produced. K defends her first assertion by a repetition, producing the beginning of the argumentation stage. Mother now attempts to deflect the dispute, but it has already progressed to the argumentation stage and her deflecting attempts (turn 59) do not work. It should be noted that in previous episodes Mother was able to deflect but only before the argumentation stage was in progress (i.e., during the confrontation and/or opening stages). In the previous episode, Mother was invited into the argument by K and J and so her mediating attempts were successful. In this case, she was not appealed to, and her mediating attempts by humor (turn 59) and turn allocation (61) at first do not work.

K produces a rational defense (turn 60) which is not accepted by J. However, J does not produce a rational explanation of her point of view until turn 68. Instead she keeps repeating her assertion (turns 62 and 64). At this point it is interesting to note that the repetition of assertions exhibited by both J and K in these dispute episodes corroborates Brenneis and Lein's (1977:56) observation that children often use repetition in successive statements within an argumentative sequence. This can be observed in both completed disputes presented. Returning to the argument in Episode 3, one can note that K is not convinced by J's assertions and does not accept them. Mother attempts her second mediation in turn 63 but this is not accepted by J. Mother then appeals (3rd attempt) to K with a **rational and pragmatic** explanation of why J should go first (i.e., courtesy). K refuses to accept the explanation (turn 66) but mother tries a fourth attempt (turn 67). At this point the argument still has at base rightful turn-taking, but between utterances 65-69 in the argumentation stage, there is a sub-conflict with Mother and K as participants. J enters again in turn 68 with a rational explanation of her point of view. K refuses to yield her position. Now Mother accepts the fact that K is not going to yield the argument so Mother resolves the dispute by giving K permission to 'be first' and, therefore, access to the act. With Mother's support, K has 'won' the argument. J offers no further resistance since Mother has determined the outcome of the dispute. Again, it can be seen that Mother's role is pivotal not only in fragmentary, but also in complete, dispute episodes. With her high status as directing adult in roles as deflector, mediator, and rational judge, she determines the outcome of all dispute episodes in this conversational interaction.

Conclusion:

In the preceding examples of potential, incomplete, and completed disputes, Mother's role was seen to be pivotal to the direction of the interaction. Disputes that fulfilled an argument structure (pragmatic model) were undertaken by the two children, with Mother acting as mediator and rational judge. When an argument occurred between the two children, it was found to be complex and multiple, exemplifying characteristics of protean adult argumentative structure along with dispute features that are prevalent in child discourse (e.g., repetition, escalation, etc.). Mother's role during the course of this interaction was to discourage, deflect, or mediate disputes. The children most often assumed the roles of protagonist and antagonist. When an argument was fulfilled, children showed

the ability to produce complex and multiple argumentation, yet Mother always resolved and concluded the argument as rational judge. The proposed model is seen to be valuable in the analysis of structure, yet must be expanded to include the possibility of an outside rational judge for application to children's argumentation. In the preceding analysis it was found that children have the ability to argue in complex and multiple structures, producing alternate points of view as well as challenges to assertions that form the base of argumentation.

In conclusion, it can be stated that examining the structures and speech acts of these child disputes in light of a pragmatic model of argumentation has allowed several hypotheses to be made. First, children are learning the appropriate speech acts of argumentation at an early age. Both the Brenneis-Lein data and my own support the frequent use of assertives and declaratives during dispute episodes by three-year-olds. Secondly, children are also learning the underlying discourse rules and roles of argumentation at an early age and are able to apply them in defense of point of view. Thirdly, children can appropriately participate in complex and compound arguments, rather then displaying only simple argument structure in their discourse. Fourth, the role of adult as mediator or rational judge plays a major role in child argumentation. An expansion of this pragmatic model of argumentation for application to child language must take into account the pivotal adult mediator/judge in the analysis of roles in argumentation.

Finally, further and more detailed pragmatic research into the development of argument structure, speech acts, and roles in child language is essential to refine and explain these fundamental issues in the development of discourse.

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Appendix I

TRANSCRIPTION

Information:

Date:	Wednesday, August 6, 1986
Time:	2:40 - 3:02 p.m.
Place:	Kitchen of M and K's family home.
Activity:	Making bread.
People present:	Kelly (K) (female, age 3;9.27 - MLU 4.47) Jennifer (J) (female, age 3;2.15 - MLU 3.56) Mother (M) Researcher (R)
Relationships:	M is the mother of K. J is not related to them but is a neighbor and peer of K.
Conversational Participants:	Kelly, Jennifer, Mother.
Language Use:	All participants are monolingual American English speakers.
Situational Context:	M, K, and J are in the kitchen of M and K's home. K and J are sitting on the floor playing with marbles, building blocks, and toy tools. M is standing at the counter and is looking down at K and J. (Researcher is sitting in room adjoining kitchen with clear view of participants but unobserved by K and J.)

Transcription Key:

Utterances are transcribed in standard orthography. Any variant pronunciation (e.g., Turn 1) will be noted in phonemic script.

falling intonation	/ stress (marked stress only)
↑ rising intonation	_ exaggerated stress (item underlined
rising and falling intonation	= unfinished utterance
: elongated preceding vowel	... unfinished word
, slight pause (under 1 second)	// end of utterance
+ pause of 1...5 second(s)	() contextual clues
# pause of 5-10 seconds	[] overlapping speech
## pause of 10+ seconds	{} unintelligible utterance
< raised pitch	? partially unclear utterance
> lowered pitch	'' oral reading from text

Transcript

Turn:	Spkr:	Utterances:
		would you
1	M:	Well ladies +++ /wuja/ like to help
		me make some bread//
2	K:	Yea:h//
3	J:	Yea:h//
3'	K:	Yea:h//
		↑/
4	M:	Wanna do that//
5	K:	>Yea:h//
6	M:	Okay what's today,//
		Today's we:dnesday//
		/
		Actually let me think about this// #
		Today's we:dnesday:// #
7	J:	Hey:// ++
8	M:	Yeah we could make two loaves of bread//
		How would that be ++ okay//
		Do you think we could do that// ##
9	K:	Who wants <u><purple></u> one and the <u>blue</u> one//
10	J:	I:, I wanna show you which one I want//
		/
		That one//
		/
11	M:	Which one//
		/
12	J:	>That one//
13	M:	You know what color that is//
14	J:	Uh huh//
15	M:	What color is that one//
15'	K:	it's
16	K:	I:t's, green//

EPISODE 1

EPISODE 2

17 M: Kind of green and it's kind of blue//
↑
We call that color aqua ++ aqua or turquoise// #

18 K: I got this thing//
/
ha: la la la la la la la la la la la la la la la
18' J: la la la la la I wanna ++ have more

I= ++ I= +++
/
19 K: la la la la la la la la:
19' J: la la la la la

/aw/

20 K: Ou:ch//

21 J: /a:w/
↑
22 M: You alright//

23 K: I'm {unintell} feel like I'm <dea:d>

24 M: Come on in here Kelly

Kelly, Kelly come on in here so you don't wake up

your brother sweetie// ##

25 K: {unintell} <bow>ling
/
26 M: Actually you'll need to put the records back where the

record player belongs beneath the couch//

27 K: Okay//

28 K: I never did put the records ba:ck //
28' M: well you each

29 M: You each have to,

Kelly has to put three back and Jennifer has to put two back/

30 K: O:kay:// #

Crazy Jennifer + she took three//

31 J: /oo/
↑
32 M: It's alright she's just trying to help out//

33 J: I wanna have three://

34 M: Okay Jennifer we originally said that anyway//

You get three and Kelly, you take two//

(to Jennifer) she originally took three {unintell}//

35 K: Jennifer {unintell} #

36 M: One more for Kells and then the next time Jennifer gets
↑
three and Kelly gets two// #

This time Jennifer you get that little >{unintell}//

She brought one for >{unintell}< it's written all over//
↑

37 M: Here what d'ya say://
↑
Thank you//

Here you go//

37' J: more
/

38 M: That's it//

Now you girls=

38' J: I want ++ put away//

39 K: {unintell} (from the living room)

40 M: Okay, well just put them away and we'll make the

bread// + I need some people to help me//
↑

41 J: Here we go//

42 M: Should we make banana bread first or cherry nut//

43 K: Cherry nut// #

44 M: Alright//

45 K: We're making <cherry nut now>//

We're making <cherry nut>//

46 J: We're making che:rry nu:t//

47 M: Alright//

48 J: I wanna sit in he:re//
/ ↑

49 M: You want to sit in there//

EPISODE 3

Let me move this, the bowl out of there, first//

50 J: Give me na:pkin// #

Take them ou:t//

51 M: Yeah, let me=
/
That's the cherry nut//
↑

52 K: Can I pour it in//

53 M: Su:re, but we're gonna have to take turns
/
doing all this okay//

54 K: 'kay//

55 M: I've two loaves of bread to make so ++ you pour

this one in// Jennifer gets to pour the next one
↑ ↑

in alright// 'kay//

56 K: I wanna be first//

57 J: I wanna be <u>fi:rst</u>//

58 K: <u>I</u> wanted to//

59 M: Oh, <u>I</u> wanted to be <u>fi:rst</u>//

60 K: Well, <u><I, asked, first></u>//

61 M: I'll tell you what, we're gonna take turns//

62 J: Wanna be <u>fi:rst</u>//

63 M: Kelly'll pour this one in this bowl,

and the next time you get to pour that
↑

package in the bowl, alright//

64 J: But I wanna be fi:rst//

65 M: Kelly, /wuǰa/ like to let Jennifer go
↑

first because she's our guest//

66 K: <u>No</u>// ++
<u>No</u> + I don't <u>want</u>: to// +
I=
↑

67 M: Y'sure//

68 J: I wanna help her//

69 K: No://

70 M: Okay, you can do the next one Jennifer//
I've got another bag, okay// #

71 M: Alright// ++
Good job//+
Good// +
Now I have to read the directions// ++ Like this//
'Using solid shortening'= + >That's this
greasy junk<// It says 'grease and flour while ++ <holding?'/
/h/...oh// ++
No, sneezing, on, the, batter//

72 K: (imitating sneeze) /ču:/

73 M: That'll blow it all over the place//

74 J: (imitating sneeze) /a:ču:/

75 M: Nine by four pan or ++ >an eight by ten<//

76 K: Can, can Jennifer and I lick the bowl out
after you're done// Maybe// +

77 M: Oh, su:re//

78 K: We get to lick the bowl// (laugh) #

79 M: Okay// +++

80 J: What's tha:t//

81 M: This is a little tape recording machine//
I'll just leave it over here//

82 K: Why//

83 M: Cause I feel like it// (laughs) #
Okay//

EPISODE 4

84 J: What are those for//

85 M: Do you know Barbara Prescott, Jennifer// ++

You do//

Do you know Barbara Prescott, Kelly//

Why don't you both say hi Barbara//

You never know where she is//

86 K: Hi Barbara//

87 J: Hi Braba//

88 M: (laugh) Okay//

You never know when sh..., when ++ Barb Prescott might

appear, huh Kells//

Barbara Prescott is a friend of Kelly//

89' K: Why ++ why you need to get that greasy//

90 M: It says just to grease the bottom of the pan//

It's to help the ++ um ++ bread when it's cooking//

90' K: Better ++ not=

91 M: Kells, do you know why//

91' K: What=

92 K: Because it d... ++ you don't want it to stick//

93 M: Oh, very good//

Do you help your mother to cook Jennifer//

Do you//

94 K: Are we making brea:d// +++

95 M: Are we what//

96 K: Are we making brea:d//

97 M: Yeah, this is the easy way// ++ It's out of a mix +

because I don't have time and I've got to do four

loaves// +++

Where two of these are for your school potluck on Friday//

98 J: When <I'm> gonna do that//

99 M: Oh you'll see//

And two of them, are, for the <squaredance> on Saturday//
↑
<Jennifer's> ++ are you coming to squaredancing Saturday//

Good//

100 K: And so is my friend <Ma:ggie>//
↑
(to J) You know who she is//

She knows who <Maggie> is//

101 M: We'll have to introduce her to Maggie if she doesn't

remember her//
↑ ↑
102 K: D'you remember her ++ very much//
↑
Did Maggie come, last year//

103 M: No, no//

104 K: I didn't
104' M: Jennifer didn't come last year either//

105 K: Oh//
↑
106 M: We just met her then//

(to Jennifer) You had just moved in the neighbor no, I

know, you went away last week, last year for the weekend//
↑
This will ++ is this your first squaredance Jennifer//

Oh, you'll see how much fun it is//

There's a ma:n who tells you what da:nce steps to do// ++

You swing around and hold somebody's hand//
↑ ↑
Alexandria's coming//

107 J: Um go /dat+se:+dan/, /do+se:+do/ (laughing) ++
↑
108 M: Right, doe see doe//

Swing, your, partner, to, the, left ++ doe see doe//

109 K: Right//

	110	M:	And then=
	111	K:	Do you re... does she remember of the doe see doe↑//
	112	M:	Who//
	113	K:	Um=
	114	M:	Jennifer↑//
	115	K:	Yeah//
	116	M:	She's never been to a squaredance//
	117	K:	Oh// She was on vacation, I think//
	118	M:	Right//
EPISODE 5			(to J) You went to Sacramento or someplace la:st year//
	119	J:	No, I went to my gran's house//
	120	M:	Oh, is that it↑// + Okay// + A:lrighty↑//
EPISODE 6			Now, after we've greased it, then we put a little flour in//
			That's what we did and that keeps the cake ++ the bread
			from sticking//
	120'	K:	I'm gonna do it↑//
	121	M:	Now we'll go to the next step// Okay//
			'Combine the bread water and egg in a large bowl' //
			Okay// Kelly you crack the egg and Jennifer I want you to
			add the water↑, okay↑//
	122	J:	Who's gonna stir it↑//
	123	M:	Um ++ you'll have to take turns//
			<Kelly, that's the best egg you've ever cracked>//
			I don't think there's any + um + shells in there↑, is there↑//
			Need a napkin↑//
	124	K:	Yeah, this stuff is sticky, so I'm gonna watch you do it//
	125	J:	Yeah, you sure wanna do it next time ? //
	126	M:	Alright, next one Jennifer does and Kelly adds water//

EPISODE 7

Okay, now Jennifer you add the water// ++ 'One, cup, water'//
Alright// Thank you//

127 K: Two + cup water.//

128 J: I get to do the next one//

129 M: I'm gonna start out by stirring a lttle bit//
I'd like + uh Kelly to stir a little bit and then I'd like
Jennifer to stir a little bit, alright//

130 K: And then we all stir=

131 M: See how lumpy it is//
See all those lumps in there//

132 J: /o:/ That smells good//
132' M: Those are the cherries and the lumps,
I mean nuts// +++
Smells like medicine//
Okay, now Kells now you stir a little bit, please//
Okay, when I tell you to, would you please give the end... ++
spoon to Jenifer so she can have a turn//

133 K: You tell me when to stop sti:rring//

134 M: Okay//
<Now> I have to, turn the oven on ++
to three hundred fifty degrees//

135 K: /bru:m+bru:m+brum+bru:m+brum/ #

136 J: After bed// ++

137 K: After bed// #

138 M: Get those pigtails out of there {unintel}// (laughing)

139 J: (laugh) I'll put it in there and get it dirty//
139' M: Okay//

140 M: Okay ++ now Jennifer's turn to stir// +++
Good//

Smells pretty tasty gi:rls// #

141 J: <Get those pigtails out of there>//

142 M: (laughs) Alright//

Pretty good, Jennifer, you think// #

Looks pretty good//

Thank you//

Good job//

Get, those, pig... get that little nose out of there//

143 J: /na:/

144 M: Get those no:ses out of there// (J and K laugh)

Ge:t those no:ses out of there// (J and K laugh)

Okay, I'm going to put=

144' K: /aa:/

145 M: Careful// ++

Okay, now I'm going to pour this in the pan//

146 K: Oh:

146' J: Oh:

147 M: Wait a minute// I'll tell you when you can look// ++ Not yet//

148 K: Let me pour this in here//

149 J: That looks pre:tty// # I'm=

150 M: How does that taste// #

151 K: Um, good// + Goody goody goody goody goody goody goody//

goody goody goody goody goody

151' J: goody goody goody goody goody goody goody goody//

152 J: What's the apple for//

153 M: I think instead of licking the bowl I'm gonna

give you each a little spoonful, okay//

154 K: Uh, yeah:// ++ Ya://

155 M: I don't want anything to get (unintell) around here//

156 J: I wanna do the ne:xt brea:d//
↑
157 M: Alright, here's one for you//

158 K: /nyu:m+nyu:m+nyu:m+nyu:m+nyu:m/
158' J: /nyu:m+nyu:m+nyu:m+nyu:m+nyu:m/
↑ ↑
159 M: You// +++ 'Kay//

160 J: /mmmmm/
160' K: /mmmmm/ /na:/

161 M: Okay <now>, now I'll take a bowl ready for
the next one, 'kay//

EPISODE 8

162 K: Uh oh//, She's spi:lling//

163 M: It's alright//

164 J: Where// ##

165 K: The next one <Jennifer, gets, to, do>//

166 M: That's right//

167 K: And we have to share doing things, /na/ in this one too +
/
yeah weren't we//

168 J: Yeah//

169 M: Okay//

EPISODE 9

170 J: <Ouch>//

171 M: Now you can set your spoons beside there to get ready
for the next loaf// ##
/ /
172 K: (laugh) You make a cuckoo head// (laugh)
/ /
173 J: (laugh) You make a peepee head// (laugh)

174 M: Cut the talk//
/umkay/ Let me rinse these off//
↑
175 K: Can we lick bow:ls//

176 M: No, I'm gonna put in the next batter +++ come on, come on,
if you want to do more, okay//

EPISODE 10

Yeah now this one's Jennifer's to pour in//

177 J: {unintell} It's ++ it's my turn to do=

178 M: This one's banana//

179 J: I'm a... use ? {unintell} ##

180 M: Good job//

Okay, now I'd like you to add the egg//

Have you ever done this before//

<Whoop> Good job//

There's only forty thousand shells in there

but it's okay//

181 J: <No: Ri:ght// No:> {unintell}
181' M: Yes//

182 K: {unintell}
182' M: Okay, now Kelly you have to wash// (J and K laugh)

183 K: /he:ya/ (J and K laugh)

184 M: Okay Kelly//

185 J: My turn to do th... + do that//

186 M: Okay, it's Jennifer's turn to start,

stirring this time//

Let me, get, the egg in here first//

187 J: I want to://

188 M: I sure will /lEča/ // ++
(let you)
Let me just=

See these big hard lumps=

189 J: But I wanna do it.
189' M: I just wanna press those down, little bit//

Now you can stir it, please//

190 K: <After her then it's my turn>//

191 J: You missed tha:t {unintell}

EPISODE 11

192 M: Everyone gets a turn//

I'm third//

193 K: <You're four>//

I'll tell you when to sto:p stirring//

194 J: No:// He:r//

195 K: <I> will//

196 J: He:r will//

197 K: (to M) Can I tell her when to stop//

198 M: No, I, I, I'm the one that's telling her who's next, okay//

Okay, now Kelly take a turn//

199 J: There. ++ (handing Kelly the spoon)
/ny:um+nyu:m+nyu:m/

199' K: /ny:um+nyu:m+nyu:m/ (laugh)

200 J: Taste it//

201 K: /mmm/

201' J: /mmm/

202 M: Okay, that's enough, that's enough//

I'll tell you= + I'll give you a spoonful when I'm all done// Okay Kells// Thanks//

End of Transcript

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